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## BOOK REVIEWS

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THE BULWARKS OF PEACE. Heber L. Hart. London: Methuen. 1918. Pp. iii, 221.

Among all the writings that have appeared on the problem of preserving the order of world society, the most searching and the most illuminating is Hart's *Bulwarks of Peace*. Particularly in connection with any consideration of the plan of the Paris Covenant of the League of Nations, it compellingly arrests attention.

Two points deserve especially to be noted. The author urges the insufficiency of general rules, of principles of conduct, of standards of right,—in short, of international law,—through arbitration or any cognate process, to obviate war. International law is a system of rules which purports to govern the relations of state. It ignores the existence of nations. But nations are the physical bases upon which states exist. And nations are living organisms. As such they are necessarily involved in continual change. While one is being born, another may be dying. Changes in nations lead to changes in states; but there is no uniformity in the ways in which nations severally change. International law makes no adequate provision for giving effect to the operation of these natural causes from which the necessity for changes in states arises. The movements of the spirit of nationality, the natural changes in the relative vigor and population of nations, and the desires of ambitious states for enlarged dominion, will, from time to time, cause wars, unless appropriate measures to prevent them are taken collectively by all states or such of them as together possess preponderant power.

Having criticized destructively the conceptions of equality, of neutrality and of non-intervention among states, from the stand-point both of the theory of international law and of fact, the author finds the appropriate measures to be taken to prevent war to consist essentially, not primarily in the development of international law or of judicial machinery, but of an administrative authority with power to make political decisions *ad hoc*. International law, even if reinforced by an effective sanction, would be an inadequate basis of public right. General rules there must be; but general rules alone are unsatisfactory. There must be provision for a discretionary authority, for particular orders, for occasional commands adapted to special states of fact, to the needs of living and ever-changing organisms. Administration is as necessary as a system of judicature. It need not be pointed out how fully these ideas are embodied in the proposed Covenant of Paris.

This is one of those rare books of which it may be justly said that it should be read by everyone.

ROBERT T. CRANE.